2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

## Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madeira and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below, the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tabí* or *ti*; and are embodied (verkörpert) in the large *kadake*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kadake* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mãi'ri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kadake* from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuaut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *thge tauket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last

1. [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. --Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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such hut stood until recently upon the Tauribi, a plain not far from our Curuzu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i riritya'uye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Dutye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ibá* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikapi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itaiba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaxiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Yatu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pugyóbu'uye*

20. Corôca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kabububu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Il'aremaryu pakpak-i'uut*?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyu* wasp. 33. *Il'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

### Traditional Origin of the Sib System

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *ritiut* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A — Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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304 Harts and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [301] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 9 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

### MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of cumpers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mauriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

### TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a ● 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "hududed," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Munduruca* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Harff (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

## MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned,[1] a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits mentioned by the Munduruci were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Munduruci were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superseded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Munduruci, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Munduruci informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabá*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[3] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabá* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Munduruci informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakibó, divided the Munduruci into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1936) reported a myth wherein the Munduruci were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Munduruci word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13



ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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dancers clothed in cloaks of buritĭ leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat.

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group.

## Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad.

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[8] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple-

[8] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

### DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[578] [764] 616 727

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ1: Mundurucu SQ13



warrior be buried by member of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Biuši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö;* this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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578 837 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

582 616 The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of 835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[10]

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[11] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ši* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*wan ỹũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[11] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92–96.

*KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE*

60/ 616 "older" (*wanyū*) and "younger (*o kŏt*) brothers," with the exception of age mates, who are called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (*awah*), "mother" (*ai ī*), and "daughter" (*da ū*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say